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ABSTRACT

John Monteith played a leading role at Hamilton College during the 1820's in an upheaval that paralleled those of the 1960's. The subject matter of the two conflicts differed greatly, but both involved the same groups of combatants--administrators, faculty members, students, trustees, and external organizers. This review of Monteith's career brings some illuminating and authoritative answers to many questions about what happened at Hamilton during its nearly disastrous early history. The paper also touches on antebellum influences of organized religious bodies and their feuding factions on colleges and universities, and the social reform movements in the United States during Monteith's lifetime. Appendixes 1 and 2 reproduce relevant pages from 1875 and 1941 published histories of the University of Michigan at whose antecedent institution Monteith held 7 of the 13 blueprinted professorships and also its presidency. Appendix 3 has been typed from an 1833 pamphlet written by President Henry Davis of Hamilton College describing an episode in Monteith's stay there. Appendix 4 reviews the beginnings of Hamilton College. Appendix 5 consists of footnotes and supplementary data. (Author/KE)

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NOTES ON THE LIFE OF JOHN MONTEITH, 1788-1868

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HE 006 484

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF JOHN MONTEITH, 1788-1868

W.H. Cowley
Whilom President of Hamilton College

These notes coordinate information about John Monteith sent me by President James I. McCord of the Princeton Theological Seminary with materials that I've been accumulating for many years. Both have been supplemented by a dozen or so books borrowed from the Stanford University Library.

At the outset some remarks are in order about the significance of Mr. Monteith's career in the history of both American higher education and of American Protestantism. First, Mr. Monteith played a leading role at Hamilton College during the 1820s in an upheaval which paralleled those of the 1960s largely triggered by the successive donneybrooks at the University of California, Berkeley. The subject matter of the two series of conflicts differed greatly, but both involved the same groups of combatants -- administrators, faculty members, students, trustees, and external organizers. As a student of academic government, I've long been curious about what happened at Hamilton during its nearly disastrous early history, and this review of Monteith's career has brought illuminating and authoritative answers to many of my questions.

Second, working up and writing this memorandum has filled a number of gaps in my knowledge of the antebellum influences of organized religious bodies and their feuding factions upon

colleges and universities. I've been investigating this topic for more than two decades, but I've never published anything about it because of its complexity and frustrating confusions. Now I'm much better prepared to redo the chapter on the subject that I wrote nearly 15 years ago for a book that -- despite much persuasion from several sources -- I've been unwilling to publish.

Third, I've considerably augmented my knowledge of the social reform movements swirling about in the United States during Monteith's lifetime. He joined some of them, and beyond doubt all of them helped mould his thoughts and actions.

This additional comment explains the five appendices. The first two reproduce relevant pages from 1875 and 1941 published histories of the University of Michigan at whose antecedent institution (the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania) Monteith held seven of the 13 blueprinted professorships and also its presidency. The third has been typed from an 1833 pamphlet written by President Henry Davis of Hamilton College describing an episode in Monteith's stay there. It constitutes part of a long footnote printed in 7-pt. type and hence has been typed for ease of reading rather than photocopied. The fourth reviews the beginnings of Hamilton College with emphasis upon its government. The fifth consists in what most writers include as footnotes or supplementary data. I employ the name Cumshaw because, as the name denotes, they are bonuses which, if used in the body

of the manuscript, would break its continuity. Many of them have significant -- and all of them pertinent -- information.

One final introductory word: in locating and organizing the source materials of this memorandum Mr. Michael Korff, Stanford graduate student, has ably and perspicaciously assisted me.

Family

Sarah Lecky Monteith, wife of Daniel Monteith, gave birth to their son John on August 5, 1788, in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.[1] No information in hand tells whether or not they had other children, how long they lived in Gettysburg, or when and why they moved from close to the south-central border of Pennsylvania to Trumble County in the northeastern corner of Ohio. The Monteiths were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, but when members of the family -- and which ones -- migrated to America remains to be investigated.

Monteith's first marriage (June 21, 1820) ended upon the early death of his bride, Sara Sophia Granger of the Ohio county (Portage) adjacent to Trumble. A little over a year later he married Abigail Harris of Florence, Ohio, about 30 miles west of Cleveland. The date of the wedding, August 30, 1821,[2] suggests that it occurred on Monteith's trip east from

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[1]Gates, 1878. Refer to bibliography for full citations.

[2]Gates, 1879.

Detroit to begin his career as a professor at Hamilton College.

From this union nine children were born,[1] but the papers in hand account only for John Jr., George, Charles, Edwin H., and Sarah. The last named married a Colonel N.B. Gates at some unspecified age, place, and date. Her letters to a Rev. Dr. William E. Schenck of the Princeton Theological Seminar (PTS hereafter) dated December and January 1878-79 constitute invaluable sources of information about Monteith's early life.

Education

No presently available information tells when and where Monteith had his primary education, but his daughter's letters report that in preparing for admission to Jefferson College he studied Latin on his own. He graduated in the Class of ~~1831,~~ 1813, aged 25, having earned his way as a tutor in Virginia and Maryland during two absences from the College.[2] More information about his undergraduate life and also about that of his classmate, George Junkin, may be in the archives of Washington and Jefferson College whose two forerunning institutions merged in 1865.

Upon their graduation the two classmates went their separate ways: Junkin, at that time a communicant of the Associated

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[1]Gates, 1878.

[2]Gates, 1879.

Reformed Presbyterian Church, left for New York City to study with John M. Mason, Provost of Columbia College and concurrently pastor of the Murray Street Church.[1] Monteith, a member of the predominant wing of the Church, matriculated a year later at PTS. It had opened in 1812 with a single professor, Archibald Alexander. By the time of Monteith's arrival Samuel Miller had joined Alexander, and the seminary enrolled just over a dozen students.

Monteith's daughter in both her letters reported that while at PTS (1813-16) he had tutored two of Professor Alexander's sons. I can find no confirmation of this in the biography of Alexander written by his son James, nor, indeed, any mention of Monteith anywhere in the volume.[2]

Michigan, 1816-1817

Licensed as a missionary in the spring of 1816, Monteith accepted a few weeks later an invitation from the Protestant Society of Detroit "to introduce the gospel" in Michigan. Governor Lewis Cass and two associates signed the invitation, and Monteith set out for Detroit whose population, he found upon his arrival, to be about 1,200 exclusive of the military garrison continuing on since the recent termination of the War of 1812. About half of the civilians were French-speaking

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[1] Starr, Volume X. See also Cumshaw No. 1.

[2] Alexander.

Roman Catholics. He preached his first sermon on Sunday afternoon June 30th[1] and returned briefly to Princeton the following spring to be ordained by the New Brunswick Presbytery. The Rev. George S. Woodhull, Princeton minister and long-time trustee of Princeton University (the College of New Jersey until 1896), preached the sermon and Professor Alexander gave the charge.[2] Back in Detroit later that year Monteith continued as the pastor of the first Presbyterian church (called the Protestant Church) organized in the Territory of Michigan.

The Catholepistemiad, 1817-1821

On August 26, 1817, the legislature of the Territory established the "Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania."[3] Three members of the Michigan bar prepared the enabling act providing for the creation of "thirteen didaxum or professorships." To six of these the authorities named Gabriel Richard, a resident Sulpician priest recently from France, and to the other seven it named Monteith. One of the seven, the didaxum of catholepistemia, carried with it the presidency of the institution.[4]

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[1] Elyria Democrat.

[2] Elyria Democrat.

[3] Ten Brook (see Appendix 1) and Shaw (Appendix 2)

[4] Shaw, p. 27.

Monteith has been called a "co-founder" of the University of Michigan,[1] but the honor of designing and founding the Catholepistemiad unquestionably belongs to Judge August B. Woodward (Columbia 1793), one of the three signers of the Act of 1817 and the author the previous year of A System of Universal Science.[2] He had been appointed to his judgeship in 1805 by President Jefferson whom he had known well. In planning the University of Virginia (opened in 1826), Mr. Jefferson undoubtedly consulted Judge Woodward's book,[3] but happily he did not employ Woodward's pedantic terminology which, indeed, never took hold in Michigan.[4]

The establishment of the present-day University of Michigan on April 30, 1821, ended the brief life of the Catholepistemiad. The new institution moved from Detroit to Ann Arbor but did not open until 1837; however, its Board of Trustees met during the intervening years whenever it seemed likely that the necessary launching funds could be raised. Monteith, named a charter member of the Board, soon resigned and departed for Florence, Ohio. There, as observed above, he and Miss Abigail Harris were married. Bride and groom, probably almost

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[1] Fletcher, p. 12.

[2] Jenks.

[3] Koch, Chapter XI.

[4] Shaw, p. 27.

immediately, left for Clinton, New York, where Monteith succeeded Eleazar S. Barrows as professor of Latin in Hamilton College.[1]

In view of later events it needs to be remarked that Barrows (Middlebury 1811, PTS 1814-15) had been forced out of office by a memorial of the sophomore class sent to th Hamilton governing board complaining about his poor teaching and his severe discipline.[2] Almost certainly this circumstance influenced Monteith's successful, if also egregious, courting during his seven Hamilton years of both students and trustees.

Hamilton College, 1821-1828

Four years before Monteith's arrival Hamilton had installed its second president, the Rev. Dr. Henry Davis (Yale 1796).[3] The College had been founded as the Hamilton Oneida Academy in 1793 by Samuel Kirkland (Princeton 1765) and in 1812 had been chartered as the third college in what about that time had begun to be called the Empire State. Columbia in New York City and Union College in Schenectady long had been in operation. The projectors of Hamilton and many others, however, expected that because of the just-begun Erie Canal and the westward movement of New Englanders, the College would

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[1]Davis, pp. 7-13, and Pilkington, p. 98.

[2]Pilkington, p. 92.

[3]Starr, Volume I.

soon be catapulted into educational eminence. Henry Davis, president of Middlebury College from 1809, may have thought so too; but it seems best to explore the question in a Cumshaw.[1] Here it can be reported that he declined the proffered invitation from his alma mater to succeed its famous president, Timothy Dwight, who died (January 11, 1817) a fortnight after Hamilton's first president, Azel Backus (Yale 1787). After considerable confusion Davis, late the following summer, decided to accept the Hamilton presidency to which he had originally been invited in January.

Like both Backus and Dwight, Davis belonged to the New Divinity school (also called Hopkinsianism) of theology and, like them, believed in religious revivals and had conducted several at Middlebury. He did not, however, approve of the vociferous kind of revivals which, beginning in 1824, swept through Central New York under the leadership of Charles G. Finney, lawyer-turned revivalist. At PTS Monteith had learned of the conservative attitudes toward revivals of Professors Alexander and Miller, but Finney soon counted him among his ardent devotees of what he called "new measures." One of Finney's biographers has described these as follows:

> He cast aside the ordinary conventions of the pulpit; used expressive language and homely illustrations; was startlingly direct and even personal in his appeal to

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[1] See Cumshaw No. 2.

> men's consciences and in his prayers, so that he was threatened with tar and feathers, and even with death. He portrayed the terrible guilt and awful consequences of disobeying the divine law, and put the fear of God into his hearers. His command over all classes was phenomenal; he broke down contrary wills by his logic and by the superior force of his own will. Violent physical manifestations resulted from his preaching; people burst into tears, shrieked, fainted, and fell into trances. Nevertheless, he produced permanent beneficial results; lives were transformed and whole towns cleansed.[1]

Finney did not begin his evangelizing until immediately after his ordination in July 1824 when he was almost 32 years old, and he appears to have made the base of his operation Whitesboro, a few miles from Hamilton College. Soon Monteith became his devoted follower, and in Hamilton's Chapel he employed Finney's "new measures." Meanwhile several members of the College's Board of Trustees also applauded Finney's work, and he counted numerous adherents among the student body.[2] One of them, for example, in a chapel prayer referred to Davis as "an old greyheaded sinner, leading his scholars down to hell!"[3]

Undoubtedly recalling the student initiation of the events leading to the dismissal of his predecessor in the professorship

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[1]Starr, Volume VI.

[2]See Cumshaw No. 6.

[3]Davis, p. 32.

of Latin, Monteith met with a group of undergraduates and trustee Gerrit Smith, protesting against Davis' objection to the new measures. Appendix 3, taken from a long footnote in Davis' 1833 pamphlet, describes the situation and the action he took. There it will be noted that Monteith admitted praying "in the chapel on the Sabbath" even more pointedly than the above-quoted student:

> Thou knowest, O Lord, that the faculty of Hamilton College have sinned in high places; and we pray Thee, O Lord, if they are obstacles to Thy work, that Thou wouldst remove them out of the way.[1]

It will also be there observed that, in an interview with Davis, Monteith acknowledged his conduct as an accepted application of Finney's new measures. As can well be imagined, the feud between President Davis and the supporters of Finney's revival methods (Monteith, some students, and a number of trustees) had disastrous results for Hamilton. Among other things it reduced the number of students from 107 in the spring of 1823[2] to nine in 1829, the year following Monteith's departure.[3]

Whether or not dismissed by Davis, Monteith in the spring of 1828 left Hamilton. Meanwhile, however, he had become enthusiastic about another currently popular movement, namely,

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[1]Davis, p. 36.

[2]Ibbotson and North, p. 186.

[3]Ibbotson and North, p. 208.

the Manual Labor concept of education. He had learned about it from George W. Gale, a fellow alumnus of PTS. After graduating from Union College in 1814 Gale had been a PTS student intermittently during the next five years where he may have known Monteith. Upon leaving the Seminary he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Adams, New York, and it was his sermons that incited his parishioner Charles G. Finney to devise the theological and revivalist formulas which made him the pre-eminent evangelist that he soon became. The two men remained friends, but perhaps their differences had something to do with Gale resigning his pastorate at the time of Finney's ordination and settling on a farm not many miles from Hamilton College. There he appears to have read about the manual labor schools in New England modelled on those established by the Swiss philanthropists Philipp E. Fellenberg and J.H. Pestalozzi and by the Alsatian pastor Jean F. Oberlin.

The European schools had been organized primarily for indigent children and young adolescents, but various New Englanders had adapted the manual labor principle in academies for youths. Following their example, Gale organized in Whitesboro (Finney's base) the Oneida Manual Labor Institute, and several years later he helped establish the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions. The Society, like its antecedents in Europe and the United States, fostered the strongly-held conviction that two hours or so of manual labor each day in a school-owned workshop or on its farm would

markedly improve student health and, further, would be morally and financially beneficial.

Together with many others Monteith subscribed wholeheartedly to this philosophy and ended his Hamilton College career by heading for Germantown. There he organized the Manual Labor Academy of Pennsylvania.

Germantown, 1828-1831

A year after the opening of the Germantown academy Monteith's Jefferson College classmate, George Junkin, joined him. No information in hand tells how this came about and whether or not they kept in touch with one another during the 17 years between their graduation and their joining forces. While at Jefferson they belonged to different branches of Presbyterianism; and about the time that Monteith left for PTS Junkin departed for New York City to study with John Mitchell Mason, the leading theologian of his branch of the Church.[1] Junkin remained in New York until 1816 when he became a licensed missionary in the Monongahela Presbytery of his Church. After his ordination three years later he began a pastorate of 11 years in Milton, Pennsylvania, a small community on the Susquehanna River halfway between Harrisburg and the New York border. Early during his pastorate, like

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[1]Starr, Volume X. See Cumshaw No. 1.

his mentor Mason, he left the Associated Reformed Church for mainline American Presbyterianism.

Monteith departed from Germantown in 1831 to establish a manual labor secondary school in Elyria, Ohio, but Junkin remained another year.[1] He then became the first president of Lafayette College, one of the original higher educational manual labor institutions. Apparently Monteith continued to be a manual labor enthusiast for the rest of his life, but Junkin abandoned the movement toward the end of his 11-year presidency of Lafayette as inefficient, unpopular, and a deterrent to academic excellence.[2]

In the light of later developments it would be more than a little useful to know whether or not during their two years together in Germantown Monteith and Junkin discussed theological topics, particularly Finney's "new measures." Be that as it may, Junkin took the leadership in precipitating the 1835 heresy trial of Albert Barnes[3] which split the Presbyterian Church into two divisions -- the Old School, the opponents of Barnes and those who thought as he did; and the New School, proponents of the updated Edwardian theology known as Taylorism (named after Professor Nathaniel W. Taylor of Yale and

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[1]Starr, Volume X.

[2]Owen, p. 21.

[3]See Cumshaw No. 4.

also called the New Haven Theology).[1] The Barnes imbroglio also partially terminated the Congregational-Presbyterian Plan of Union adopted in 1801. That action resulted from the excision in 1837 of four New School Synods -- Utica, Geneva, Genesee, and Western Reserve.

Monteith, who lived within the boundaries of the Western Reserve Synod throughout most of the 32 years of the Old School-New School breach, is quoted as having said that, though a member of the Western Reserve Synod, in theology he continued to be "rigidly Old School."[2] This seems to be a defensible statement in the light of Whitney R. Cross' 1950 study of Finney's career, wherein he maintained that Finney's theology roughly paralleled Taylor's. Finney employed his "new measures," Cross concluded, with the intention of making updated Edwardianism acceptable to less well-educated people than Taylor's New England Congregations and partisans.[3]

Elyria, Ohio and Monroe County, Michigan, 1832-1868

During the middle of Monteith's stay in Germantown, the manual labor movement gained such momentum that Gale at the Oneida Institute wrote his former parishioner-turned-evangelist: "Depend on it, Brother Finney, none of us have estimated the

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[1] See Cumshaw No. 4.

[2] Elyria Democrat.

[3] Cross, pp. 159-165.

importance of this System of Education. It will be to the moral world what the lever of Archimedes, could he have found a fulcrum, would have been to the natural."[1] Soon after writing this letter, Gale interested the reformer-philanthropists Arthur and Lewis Tappan of Manhattan in financing the above-cited Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions. Its officers included President Jeremiah Day of Yale and U.S. Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. In July 1831 it began operations by appointing Theodore Dwight Weld as its field agent.

Six months earlier Weld had started west to promote manual labor education and other reforms. Meanwhile, beyond doubt, in person or by letter, he won over Monteith to the idea of leaving Germantown for Elyria, Ohio. More could be said were time and space available about the long-time association of these two men, but here Monteith's Elyria enterprise needs to be summarized.

Nothing that I've thus far come upon gives substantial information about the project, but from data in hand a few observations can be made: (1) the manual labor idea failed to become Gale's hoped-for fulcrum, and like many other high-spirited adventures soon began to lose steam; (2) probably for this reason Monteith left Elyria in 1845 to be a Presbyterian missionary in Monroe County, Michigan, where he became pastor

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[1]Fletcher, p. 42.

of a new church in Blissfield; (3) in 1855, aged 67, he returned to Elyria; (4) his activities during the immediately following years can perhaps be learned from his diary given in 1938 by two of his descendants to the Historical Collections of the University of Michigan; (5) there, also, perhaps can be found the name of the Elyria school where he taught from 1859 until six years before his 1868 death.

The above outline leaves out -- as do all but one of the items sent from PTS[1] -- the crucial fact that soon after arriving in Elyria, Monteith became an ardent abolitionist. Here too, it will be necessary to consult Monteith's diary to learn when he took that step, but beyond question Weld again led the way.

For a brief period Weld had been at the Lane Theological Seminary and then at Oberlin College studying for the ministry.[2] Instead of continuing to study theology Weld began a brilliant career as a barnstorming abolitionist lecturer, but before leaving Oberlin he undoubtedly got in touch with his former Hamilton professor at the Elyria manual labor school nine miles away. Monteith had already switched from anti-slavery gradualism to the immediatism of the abolition crusade, having the previous February (1835) -- as "the leading abolitionist of Elyria" -- become president of the Lorain County Anti-Slavery

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[1] Elyria Democrat.

[2] See Cumshaw No. 5.

Society.[1] Whether the two men kept in touch with one another in later years seems not to be recorded; and about Monteith I've been able to discover only that in 1841 he represented Elyria at the Akron and Columbus conventions of the newly-organized Liberty Party.[2] In all likelihood the Elyria manual labor school had failed at the time of the 1837 Depression (as did many others including the Oberlin program) and about then Monteith became "principal of the Elyria High School."[3] In any case, as indicated earlier, he became an agent of the American Home Missionary Society in Monroe County, Michigan, returning a decade later to spend the remaining 13 years of his life in Elyria.

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My interest in Monteith is only peripheral, but this brief study of his career has raised a number of questions about him. I shan't be able to search for their answers, but perhaps someone at PTS or at the University of Michigan -- to whose librarian I'll send a copy of this paper -- will think the task worthy of attention. The questions are these:

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[1]Fletcher, p. 146.

[2]Fletcher, p. 387.

[3]Fletcher, p. 743.

1) When did the Elyria manual labor venture close down, and when did Monteith become associated with the Elyria High School?

2) How extensive were his activities as an abolitionist after 1841 in Ohio and Michigan?

3) Did he continue to be a Finneyite; and, if so, did he conduct "new measures" revivals?

4) What did he think about the radical religious groups within his Ohio and Michigan orbits? For example, the Millerites who in the middle 1840s so confidently expected the second coming of Christ that they waited for Him on hilltops; the Mormons who began their westward trek in 1831, stopping for six years at Kirtland, 20 miles northeast of Cleveland; the antinominian Perfectionists among the members of the Oberlin community; the Seventh Day Adventists who in 1855 made Battle Creek, Michigan, their primary base; The Shakers who established one of their 18 "families" near Cleveland in what in time became Shaker Heights?

5) Some of Monteith's political loyalties can easily be identified: as an abolitionist he undoubtedly opposed the 1846-48 Mexican War and probably joined the Republican Party at or soon after its 1854 formation. But what did he think of John Brown's raids

> in Kansas, Missouri, and at Harper's Ferry which his long-ago Hamilton confidante, trustee Gerrit Smith, helped finance? And what were his attitudes and actions concerning the powerful wave of secular reforms of his day? Like Weld he almost certainly endorsed and perhaps campaigned for temperance and women's rights, but what about the contemporary communistic communities of which only a few have been cited by most historians -- Robert Owen's New Harmony settlement in Indiana, the Brook Farm near Boston, and the scores of Fourieristic phalanxes throughout the eastern and middle-western states? And how, finally, did he react to the mingle-mangle of panaceas advocated at the 1840 Boston convention organized by the "Friends of Universal Reform"?[1]

Someone ought, I verily believe, hunt down the answers to these and related questions in Monteith's diary and his other papers in the Historical Collections of the University of Michigan. Among them will probably not be found, however, the answer to a question that has taken shape during my writing of this paper, namely, why has Monteith been several times memorialized during the recent past? For example, he has been called, incorrectly I believe, a "co-founder" of the University

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[1] See Cumshaw No. 7.

of Michigan[1] and, perhaps with more justification, the "founder of the first public library in Michigan."[2] Two institutions have also been named in his honor -- an experimental college of Wayne State University established in 1958 and the "Monteith Library" at Alma College dedicated late in 1964.[3]

Nonetheless, the information summarized in these pages suggests that during the last 40 years of his life Monteith at best bowed a second violin in one or more of the lesser middle-western orchestras of his day. Beyond question, however, he decisively influenced the history of Hamilton College and the evolving methods of governing American higher education. Because of this -- and no less because of his religious views -- I'd very much like to know more about him. Am I wrong in believing that those at PTS engaged in recording the careers of its alumni share my curiosity?

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[1]Fletcher, p. 12.

[2]Wagman, p. 12.

[3]Wagman, p. 12.

March 1975

APPENDIX ONE

Andrew Ten Brook. American State Universities: Their Origin and Progress. Cincinnati. Robert Clarke & Co., 1875. Pp. 86-104.

Describes the founding of the Catholepistemiad.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

IN his commemorative oration delivered on the semicentennial anniversary of the founding of the University in June, 1887, President James Burrill Angell said: "We might in a very just sense celebrate this year the centennial of the life of the University." Just one hundred years before, the Ordinance of 1787 had proclaimed that throughout the Northwest Territory then in process of organization "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." This advanced educational policy rested upon sound precedents in the administration of education in the Colonies, where most of the colleges, particularly in the beginning, had received active support from the public treasuries, although by the time of the Revolution, the administration of most of these institutions had come under what was practically church control (see Part I: THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN AND STATE EDUCATION).

The Ordinance of 1787 was inspired by the liberal and even free thinking spirit of that period and in its provisions for education proclaimed, despite the generally accepted view, that the maintenance of schools was a function of the state. This conception of a public responsibility for education formed one of the really constructive policies inaugurated by the weak and ineffective national government in the era before the adoption of the Constitution, though it was to be many years before its implications were to be realized in Michigan or in any other of the states to be established.

Aside from outlying trading posts the only settlement in Michigan at that time was Detroit, a little village of French and Indian fur traders. It was situated strategically, however, on the highway of the Great Lakes, and, like many frontier communities, it attracted men with a talent for leadership as soon as it became a part of the United States in 1796. Among those who rose to prominence in Detroit were three significant figures. The first was Father Gabriel Richard, a French Sulpician missionary priest who came to the Territory in 1798 and almost immediately set about developing means of education for a community in which the inhabitants, we may assume, were almost wholly illiterate. He founded elementary and trade schools, imported the first printing press in the Territory, and even looked forward to an institution for instruction in the higher branches.

With the coming of Augustus A. B. Woodward as the chief justice of the Territory, after its organization in 1805, Father Richard's efforts received strong support. Woodward was a classical scholar, something of a pedant, with a tendency toward extravagant theories, and he saw in the movement toward the provision of educational facilities for the Territory an opportunity to put into effect some of his own pet ideas. He had long been engaged upon the philosophical task of dividing and subdividing human knowledge into appropriate categories and published a book on the subject in 1816. The classification of knowledge was also one of Jefferson's hobbies and it may well have been a friendship between the two men based on these ideas that led to Woodward's appointment (Isbell, p. 182).

A third figure who comes actively into the picture was the Reverend John Monteith, a young Presbyterian clergyman who had been ordained at Princeton in 1817 after his first visit to the Territory. It is evident that a strong friendship sprang up between him and Father Richard, for in Monteith's journal for October 28, 1816, we read, "visit Priest Richard, who is out of health. I think he loves to have me visit him" (*Early Records*, p. 178). The liberal spirit of these two friends is evidenced by a tradition that it was in Richard's Catholic church of St. Anne's that Monteith held the first Protestant service in Michigan. Other men of outstanding personality who had a part in the plans for the University were Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory, afterwards candidate for the presidency of the United States, and William Woodbridge, Secretary of the Territory, who gave Richard's and Monteith's efforts effective political backing.

The result of the efforts of these men was the curiously named Catholepistemiad of Michigania, chartered by the territorial government, the governor and the judges of the Territory, on August 26, 1817. In this overwhelming title can be discerned Judge Woodward's pedantic turn of mind. He followed his system of universal knowledge as set forth in his book in the plan for a system of instruction from primary levels to a university, which was to be divided into thirteen *didaxiim*, to be taught by "didactors" of such teaching subjects as *anthropoglossica*, or literature, *mathematica*, or mathematics, *physicsophica*, or natural sciences, *astronomia*, or astronomy, *chymia*, or chemistry, *iatrica*, or medical sciences, *polemitactica*, or military sciences, and *ennoetica*, or intellectual sciences. The thirteenth subject was *catholepistemia*, or universal science, and the instructor in this subject was to be president of the University.

This is the extraordinary and bizarre side of a plan which was, as a matter of fact, a sound program for a state system of education that had, as might be expected, many elements in common with Jefferson's plan for the University of Virginia. The president and didactors were to form a governing board in control of all educational agencies of the state and empowered to charter schools and colleges. Financial support was to come from the Territory and from student fees (see Part I: REGENTS).

Steps were taken to put the plan into operation almost immediately; Monteith became president and sevenfold didactor, with an annual salary of $25, while Father Richard was to teach the six other subjects for $18.75 (*Early Records*, p. 6). On September 12, the trustees passed a series of enactments setting up primary schools in Detroit, Monroe, and Michilimackinac, and a classical academy in Detroit, including a provision for the erection of a building. Less than a month later, on October 3, a further act was passed "to establish the First College of Michigania," evidently as part of the general program for education embodied in the University or Catholepistemiad. It is significant to note that in all these early measures the institution was uniformly known as the "University of Michigania" and that only once, in a report of the meeting of the Board of Trustees and Visitors of the Classical Academy and Primary Schools, held on June 11, 1818, was the term "Catholepistemiad" used officially. It is quite evident that Judge Woodward's terminology was far from popular.

The question of financing the construction of the University building was a serious one. The sum of $5,100 was quickly subscribed by residents of the Territory, though there is no evidence that it was all collected, while a contribution of $760 remaining from a fund raised for the sufferers of the fire which destroyed Detroit in 1805 was also appropriated for University purposes. The first report of Monteith, as president in

November, 1818, indicates that the cost of the building rather exceeded the amount of the first and second years' subscriptions and the donations for the fire sufferers. This would make the cost of the building a little more than $3,000. It stood on the west side of Bates Street near Congress and measured twenty-four feet by fifty feet. The first floor was used for the elementary school, while the second floor was reserved for the classical academy. Though the progress of construction was slow, Monteith's report of November 19, 1818, indicates that the classical academy had been in operation for about nine months and the primary school three months. Apparently neither of the "didactors" ever gave courses of collegiate grade.

The primary, or Lancastrian, school had been placed under the charge of Lemuel Shattuck, a native of Massachusetts, who was engaged by the Reverend John Monteith and seems to have arrived in Detroit early in June, 1818. Mr. Shattuck, who also acted as the first secretary of the Board of Trustees appointed in 1821, left Detroit at the end of that year. He won some prominence in his later years as the author of laws in Massachusetts relating to school organization and the recording of vital statistics, and as chairman of the commission to make a sanitary survey of the state. His successors in charge of the school were John Farmer (until January, 1824), later distinguished as a map maker and local historian, Ebenezer Shephard, and a Mr. Cook from Albany, who died in 1827. After that time, both schools became, practically, the private venture of the teachers in charge, and little is said about their management in the surviving records.

Hugh M. Dickie, a graduate of Jefferson College, was the first teacher of the classical academy, and began his work on February 2, 1818, in a house at the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, pending the completion of the University building. He died on February 16, 1819, and was probably succeeded by John J. Deming, although the matter is not entirely clear. It is, however, recorded that the trustees and visitors of the academy elected Ebenezer Clapp as teacher on February 17, 1821. In that year the new Board of Trustees of the University of Michigan superseded the "University of Michigania" and dispensed with the Board of Trustees and Visitors of the Classical Academy and Primary Schools, making themselves responsible for the conduct of the school. There was dissension over the proposed reappointment of Mr. Clapp in 1822, and the Reverend Alonson W. Welton became his successor (1822–24). He in turn was succeeded by Ashbel S. Wells (1824–26) and Charles C. Sears (1826–27).

On October 30, 1827, the trustees voted to discontinue financial aid to the academy, but invited the teacher to continue at his own risk. There are records of at least sporadic use of the building for school purposes after this time and prior to the first appointment of Regents in 1837. In 1830 the city of Detroit asked for the use of the rooms for the establishment of common schools, and in May, 1831, such a request was granted. In 1834 the academy building was rented to the masters of the two schools in it, John N. Bellows and D. B. Crane. The Reverend Mr. Elens took a lease of the upper room in 1836 for a classical school (*Early Records*, pp. 6 ff.).

The original act had provided for an increase of 15 per cent in the territorial taxes, as well as lotteries, for the support of the program. There is no evidence, however, of any resort to these methods of support, nor were plans set up for the utilization of the government lands, which, in so many states, were the impelling factor in the establishment of educational institutions, although one section had been set aside for an institution of higher education in 1804.

One contribution to the University had an important as well as a romantic significance. This was a gift from the various tribes of Indians—Wyandot, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Chippewa—who in 1817 met Lewis Cass and General Duncan McArthur beside the rapids of the Maumee south of the present site of Toledo to negotiate a treaty for the settling of land titles. In this treaty was included a specific grant by the Indians of six sections of land to be divided equally between Father Richard's parish of St. Anne and the "college at Detroit." It may be that it was in order to qualify for this donation that the University of *Michigania* passed the act of October 3, establishing at Detroit the *First College* of Michigania. These lands were eventually allocated and sold for the benefit of the University, but the specific identity of the gift has been lost. The only definite evidences today of this interest in a white man's education on the part of the Indian peoples of Michigan are five scholarships established by the Regents in 1932 for American Indian students.

After four years of experiment Judge Woodward's original plan proved to have certain defects. These were remedied through a new charter from the territorial legislative council, which changed the official name to "the University of Michigan," and provided for a board of twenty-one trustees to hold office at the pleasure of the legislature, instead of the earlier plan for government by the faculty. This board retained the power to establish "such colleges, academies and schools .... as they might deem proper" and were also empowered to grant degrees and to elect a president. Though its educational functions became increasingly attenuated, this body represented the corporate organization of the University of Michigan until the University in Ann Arbor was established in 1837. By a decision of the Supreme Court in 1856, it was held to be the corporate predecessor of the Board of Regents of the University later established in Ann Arbor (see Part I: CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS).

Without doubt the Board of Trustees appointed in 1821 included the most distinguished citizens of the Territory. They were headed by the governor, General Lewis Cass, later to be United States Senator, Secretary of War under Jackson, and Secretary of State under Buchanan. The others originally named were John Biddle, Register of the Detroit Land Office and congressional delegate in the years 1829–31; Nicholas Boilvin, Indian agent for the region; Daniel LeRoy, the first attorney general of the state; Christian Clemens, the founder of Mount Clemens; William H. Puthoff, of Michilimackinac; John Anderson, influential citizen of Monroe; John Hunt, a justice of the territorial Supreme Court, 1831–34; Father Richard and the Reverend Mr. Monteith, of Detroit; John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit; Solomon Sibley, United States District Attorney and Judge; Henry J. Hunt, Detroit's second mayor; John L. Leib, Chief Justice of the Wayne County Court; Peter J. Desnoyers, Detroit silversmith and holder of numerous public offices; Austin E. Wing, three times territorial delegate to Congress; William Woodbridge, Secretary of Michigan Territory and later a member of the Supreme Court; Benjamin Stead, of Detroit; Philip Lecuyer, a justice of the Wayne County Court and a director of the Bank of Michigan; and Dr. William Brown, one of the earliest Americans in Detroit, very influential with the Indians, and a highly respected citizen.

APPENDIX TWO

Wilfred B. Shaw (ed.). The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey. Part I. Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1941. Pp. 26-29.

Describes the founding of the Catholepistemiad.

CHAPTER V.

Early Organization for Higher Education in Michigan, and their Contemporary Events.

THE Anglo-American element in the population of Michigan gradually increased, but was long in obtaining a controlling influence. Nothing will better impress this upon the mind of the reader than to learn that no Protestant religious worship was instituted in the Territory, so as to remain subsequently uninterrupted, until 1816. This fact will be deemed sufficiently significant, when it is borne in mind how fully Christian worship has ever kept up with our frontier settlements. It is indeed known that Daniel Freeman and Nathan Bangs* each preached in Detroit in the spring and summer of 1804, and that the Methodist Conference had, as minister in charge there, in 1809, William Case.

There exists also a tradition, descended from that day, to the effect that some Methodists, perhaps under the lead of a lay preacher from Canada, attempted to hold evening religious services, both in Detroit and on the Rouge, six miles below, and that these were disturbed and broken up by the attendance of some young people, who generously supplied candles, having quills charged with gunpowder inserted in them, which, by their explosion, generated feelings and utterances not in entire harmony with the purpose of the meetings.

In the winter of 1815–16 the leading Protestant people of Detroit, without reference to their ecclesiastical relations—Governor Cass himself being prominent in the movement—

*Afterward Rev. Dr. Bangs, of New York. For the information in regard to these three men, we are indebted to Rev. Dr. Pilcher, of Detroit.

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wrote to the professors of the theological school at Princeton, to send them a young man whom they could recommend as a suitable candidate for the pastorate of the congregation. In response to this letter, John Monteith, who was to graduate in June following, although he had already been designated for a college professorship elsewhere, was named, and acknowledged the paramount claim of Michigan, by setting out for Detroit immediately after the commencement at Princeton. On his arrival we find two men standing in such relation to the people, and to the future cause of education in the State, as to call for some special notice.

Gabriel Richard was born in Saintes, department of the Lower Charente, France, in 1764, and educated for the priesthood. He came first to Baltimore, in 1792, where were several of his own religious order, the Sulpicians; thence, in December of the same year, he went to take the pastoral care of the Catholics in Illinois, at Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia, and the vicinity, whence he came on to Detroit in 1798, and had accordingly been there about a score of years, when the first movement toward higher education in Michigan was inaugurated. After so long a residence in this little place, not only as chief representative of the priesthood, but much of the time as vicar-general, performing episcopal functions, it may well be supposed that he had become the best known person in Detroit. He was faithful to his church, discharging his pastoral duties as he understood them, and his faithfulness to other public trusts was not less marked. Tradition has kept numerous anecdotes which illustrate his character.

In the discharge of duties to the public, he had a self-forgetfulness which amounted to a misfortune. It made him fruitful in expedients to accomplish public ends, thoughtless of those which keep one out of trouble. In the struggle for building St. Anne's Church, in order that the work might go on, he once issued due-bills, for which he kept some blanks on hand. Some one got hold of his blanks, filled them out, and put them in circulation to the

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amount of seven or eight hundred dollars, which he redeemed as they were brought in. He next conceived the idea of making seines, for fishing in the Detroit river. These were even sent to Eastern markets, and the basement of the church was completed as the result. This was soon after the fire of 1805.

It was a curious incident which led to his remaining in Detroit, instead of returning to France; for in 1805 he was called to return to his native land, where his brethren thought that the disordered state of religion required his presence. In the temporary chapel, where the worship was held after the fire, he published his intention to return to Europe. The trustees made use of a calumny, which had been circulated against him, had a writ served upon him, and, as a consequence, he spent his life in Detroit.

He had been as absolute and unquestioned in all matters of his parish, as if it had been in the Pyrenees; but he had seen settling around him a class of people more cultivated than his own, and including most of those connected with the government, who did not sympathize with his religious teachings and ritual services, and for whom he could not minister satisfactorily when they felt most deeply the need of the consoling offices of religion. In 1807 the Protestants of the place invited him to preach to them in English, and, though he well knew that he could not meet all their wishes, he undertook the work, and every Sunday at noon delivered at the Council-house a religious discourse of such general nature as he deemed adapted to his audience.

Father Richard called on the young Monteith soon after his arrival in Detroit, and welcomed him with sincere cordiality to the performance of services which he felt himself unable to render. On the occasion of one of his earliest calls at Mr. M.'s boarding-house, he was invited to remain at tea, and requested to ask a blessing at the table. He replied that he was unaccustomed to that service except in the Latin language, which he would use, if agreeable. Mr. M., however, thought it not well to employ a language unintelligible to those at the table. Another incident,

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however, will show that at a later day he did learn to pray in English so as to be understood. It occurred in the legislative council, where he used, as nearly as one who heard his broken English could report it, these words: "*O Lord, bless dis legislatif council, and enable dem to act for de peple and not for demselfs.*"

Father Richard once excommunicated from his church a man who had been legally divorced, and had married again. This man had combined the two occupations of carrying on the tillage of a little farm and the keeping of a little store near the city. He was feeble in health, and dependent upon the labor of others to harvest his grain, and upon their custom to support his trade. But such was the fearful nature of the ban, that no Catholic ventured to go near him, and he was left to suffer. He was, however, not to be beaten; he sued the priest for the damage resulting from this state of things, and obtained a judgment for about $2,200. It was in the days of imprisonment for debt, and as Father R. had nothing to pay, he was taken to jail, but was of course bailed out. In the meantime he had been elected territorial delegate to Congress, and the question was raised whether he could derive any advantage from the law exempting members from arrest for debt. Relying, though without any good reason, upon this provision, he went on to Washington, and his friends had to provide for the payment of the judgment. Notwithstanding those good qualities which made him so well known in Detroit, he was careless of his finances, and was ever getting into trouble as the consequence.

Father R., moved mainly by the desire to benefit his people religiously, established a printing-press in the city, and published a small paper, called "*Essai du Michigan*," which was not indeed sustained, but the press was useful in printing the religious works needed by the Catholic people, and the matter called for by the territorial government. Mr. Girardin, in a paper on Father R., recently read before the Pioneer Society of Detroit, resents as unjust and malicious, an intimation that he was not in favor

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of the education of the masses. Mr. Girardin's proofs that he was favorable to this, will, however, fall short of satisfying most readers, as they consist mainly in his efforts at the education of young men for the ministry, and in the establishment of a young ladies' seminary.

It was in 1823 that he went as territorial delegate to Congress. He showed an intelligent interest in the affairs of the Territory, and is regarded as having procured the construction of the great roads leading from Detroit—the Pontiac, Fort Gratiot, and Grand River roads. As he was always getting into financial troubles, so the same self-forgetfulness, when duty seemed to call, made him careless of life itself. When the cholera raged in Detroit, in 1832, he, with characteristic disregard of danger, moved freely among his people, ministering to their spiritual and temporal wants, was taken with the disease, and died, being about sixty-eight years of age, and having spent thirty-four years in Detroit.

Mr. Monteith was a man of another order of mind and of culture; but if his life had even been one of more diversified incident and adventure, too little of it was spent in our Territory to entitle it to be sketched for this work. His talents and education prepared him for the work of instruction to which his life, after the few years spent in Detroit, was mainly given in the discharge of the duties of a professorship in Hamilton College, in the State of New York. His chief distinction in Michigan was as standard-bearer in establishing the first Protestant congregation, and in the inauguration of our educational work. Had he chosen to remain in Michigan, his influence in educational matters would have been large and salutary.

These two men, representing in these wilds the two general sections of the Christian world, were to labor together in the opening of the work of public education in that region which has since become the State of Michigan, and this work began within a few months after Mr. Monteith's settlement in Detroit.

Hon. Augustus B. Woodward, one of the judges of the

Territory from 1805, seems to have been the organizing mind among the members of the territorial government, and was probably the author of the following:

"AN ACT to establish the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania.

"*Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan*, That there shall be in the said Territory a catholepistemiad or university, denominated the Catholepistemiod, or University of Michigania. The Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania, shall be composed of thirteen didaxum or professorships: First, a didaxia, or professorship of catho'epistemia, the didactor or professor of which shall be president of the institution; second, a didaxia, or professorship of anthropoglossica, or literature, embracing all the epistemum or sciences relative to language; third, a didaxia, or professorship of mathematica or mathematics; fourth, a didaxia, or professorship of physiognostica or natural history; fifth, a didaxia, or professorship of physiosophica or natural philosophy; sixth, a didaxia, or professorship of astronomia or astronomy; seventh, a didaxia, or professorship of chymia or chemistry; eighth, a didaxia, or professorship of iatuca or medical sciences; ninth, a didaxia, or professorship of œconomia or economical sciences; tenth, a didaxia, or professorship of ethica or ethical sciences; eleventh, a didaxia, or professorship of polemitactica or military sciences; twelfth, a didaxia, or professorship of degitica or historical sciences; and thirteenth, a didaxia, or professorship of ennœica or intellectual sciences, embracing all the epistemum or sciences relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind, to spiritual existence, to the Deity, and to religion, the didactor or professor of which shall be vice-president of the institution. The didactors or professors shall be appointed and commissioned by the governor. There shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, to the president of the institution, and to each didactor or professor, an annual salary, to be from

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time to time ascertained by law. More than one didaxia or professorship may be conferred upon the same person. The president and didactors or professors, or a majority of them assembled, shall have power to regulate all the concerns of the institution; to enact laws for that purpose; to sue, to be sued; to acquire, to hold, to alienate property, real, mixed, and personal; to make, to use, and to alter a seal; to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athenæums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions consonant to the laws of the United States of America and of Michigan, and to appoint officers, instructors, and instructrixes in, among, and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, and other geographical divisions of Michigan. Their name and style as a corporation shall be "The Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania." To every subordinate instructor and instructrix appointed by the catholepistemiad or university, there shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan an annual salary, in quarterly payments, to be from time to time ascertained by law. The existing public taxes are hereby increased fifteen per cent.; and from the proceeds of the present and all future public taxes, fifteen per cent. are appropriated for the benefit of the catholepistemiad or university. The treasurer of Michigan shall keep a separate account of the university fund. The catholepistemiad or university may prepare and draw four successive lotteries, deducting from the prizes in the same fifteen per cent. for the benefit of the institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent, shall be applied, in the first instance, to the acquisition of suitable lands and buildings, and books, libraries, and apparatus, and afterward to such purposes as shall be from time to time by law directed. The honorarium for a course of lectures shall not exceed fifteen dollars; for classical instruction, ten dollars a quarter; for ordinary instruction, six dollars a quarter. If the judges of the court of any county, or a majority of them, shall certify that the parent or guardian of any person has not

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adequate means to defray the expense of suitable instruction, and that the same ought to be a public charge, the honorarium shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan. An annual report of the state, concerns and transactions of the institution shall be laid before the legislative power for the time being. This law, or any part of it, may be repealed by the legislative power for the time being. Made, adopted, and published from the laws of seven of the original States—to wit, the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—as far as necessary, and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan, at Detroit, on Tuesday, the 26th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

"WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE,
" Secretary of Michigan, and at present acting Governor thereof.
"A. B. WOODWARD,
" Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan
"JOHN GRIFFIN,
" One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan.

This legislation did not suddenly spring up without antecedent facts in the public mind to give rise to it. The subject had been more or less agitated in the community. The contemporary numbers of the Detroit Gazette, a weekly newspaper which began its career about two months before the date of the act establishing the catholepistemiad, contain evidences of this fact. This little sheet prudently endeavored to adapt itself to all classes of the people. The French population was still quite in the majority throughout the Territory. Many of them had emigrated from France in the reign of Louis XIV. Of these, some had been of the higher classes, and being cut off from all immediate intercourse with their own country, they were still handing down from generation to generation the French language of the age in which they had left their native land, as they are, indeed, still doing in some of those retired parts on the Canada side of the river, where the pressure of the

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Anglo-Americans has not dislodged or corrupted it. The Gazette, in deference to the wishes of these people, was divided between English and French in its advertisements, editorials, and communications. Under date of August 8, 1817, is an editorial in the French language on the subject of education, from which the following is translated:

"Frenchmen of the Territory of Michigan! You ought to begin immediately to give an education to your children. In a little time there will be in this Territory as many *Yankees* as French, and if you do not have your children educated, the situations will all be given to the *Yankees*. No man is capable of serving as a civil and military officer unless he can at least read and write. There are many young people, of from eighteen to twenty years, who have not yet learned to read, but they are not yet too old to learn. I have known those who have learned to read at the age of forty years."*

This contributes to a view of the state of things in Detroit, by stating the writer's idea of the smallest amount of education which would enable his countrymen to compete successfully with the "Yankees," informs us that many of them were without these essentials, and invites them to enter at once upon their work of preparation, hinting a word of encouragement even to those who might have lived forty years without making the beginning.

The earliest numbers of the Gazette, in consequence no doubt of this movement, are much occupied with brief articles, both original and selected, on the subject of education. One appears from Montesquieu, showing the necessity of intelligence and virtue in republics, and one from Howard, the philanthropist, setting forth the relation between intelligence and virtue, ignorance and crime; and these are the straws which show to us of this day, in what direction the current was then setting in.

* "Français du Territoire de Michigan! Vous devriez commencer immediatement à donner une education à vos enfans. Dans peu de temps il y aura dans ce Territoire autant de *Yankees* que de Français, et si vous ne faites pas instruire vos enfans, tous les emplois seront donnés aux *Yankees*. Aucun homme ni est capable d'etre officier civil et militaire à moins qu'il ne sache lire et ecrire. Il y a plusieurs jeunes gens de 18 à 20 ans, qui n'ont pas encore appris à lire, mais ils ne sont pas trop vieux pour apprendre. J'en ai connu qui ont appris à lire à l'age de 40 ans."

But how exceedingly small and isolated the community in which this work began! The exact population in 1817, the period now to be pictured, is not known. The whole Territory in 1810 contained 4,762 souls; in 1821, 8,896; probably, therefore, in 1817, 6,000 to 7,000. The tonnage of Michigan vessels, in 1816, in the foreign trade was 430⅝; in the coasting trade, 59⅝—the largest of which might easily have been the measurement of one small vessel. The expectation of the arrival of the first steamer at Detroit, was heralded by an editorial of the Gazette in the following language: "We learn with pleasure, by a gentleman from Buffalo, that the steamboat may be expected the first week in August." It was not, however, until the 28th of that month that the editor could announce the arrival of that "elegant" structure. This vessel, called from the Indian Chief of that name, "Walk-in-the-Water," began at that time her regular trips, forming an era in the history of the Territory. Detroit had then a total population of 1,110 souls, occupying 142 dwelling-houses.

We learn from an editorial of the Gazette of February 20, 1820, that two years previous to that date, all the goods consumed in this whole western country, were either "boated" up the Mississippi, or "wagoned" over the mountains from Philadelphia, and that these enterprising Detroit people began at this time to think that by the canal, of which De Witt Clinton was then urging the construction, their goods might come, perhaps with advantage to themselves, from New York by way of Buffalo and Lake Erie. The Indians were still a main element of the population. The best church in the vicinity had been built chiefly by the Hurons, or Wyandottes, as they were sometimes called, and on special occasions they filled it. The French people, which were but little in advance of them in intelligence, were still in the majority. Few of their men could read or write except those intended for mercantile life; singularly

enough more of the women than of the men were able to read, which fact is accounted for by their more general attendance upon the mass for which they thus prepared themselves. There was, however, little reading even among those who had acquired this accomplishment. An inquiry was instituted about this time in order to know how many of these French people had the Bible in their own language; most of them, on being asked, claimed to have it, but when produced, it proved generally to be the litany, or some collection of prayers, and even Father Richard had only a Latin Bible until one in the vulgar language was given him by the Protestant pastor. They felt little obligation to observe the Sabbath, otherwise than to attend mass once, until the commencement of Protestant worship, almost immediately after which, an ordinance in regard to Sabbath observance was passed, and was generally respected.*

* The most of this account of the intellectual and religious condition of the French people of Detroit is taken from a manuscript of Rev. John Monteith, kindly furnished for this purpose by his son, late superintendent of schools in Missouri. It is replete with interesting statements of facts, the use of which in this work would be foreign to its design. There is, however, one too interesting to be omitted, and so is thrown into this note:

Mr. Monteith, on his way up the lake, in 1816, was passenger in a little schooner called the "Union," having among his fellow-passengers Captain Root, and Lieutenant Clark and wife, and Colonel McNeil and wife, all of the United States army; the wife of Colonel McNeil being a sister of Franklin Pierce, afterward President of the United States. This little craft, thus respectably laden, was old, and had always been under the same command, that of Captain Ruff, who related to this company, among other perils of himself and his little vessel, that he had once had the celebrated traveler Volney for a passenger, and had in the passage encountered a severe storm, which had well-nigh driven his schooner upon a shoal near the Canada shore. To use Mr. Monteith's words: "There was much solemnity and prayer, and especially among the females on board. But some were greatly agitated, and none more so than Volney. When the danger seemed to be very near, he ran to his trunk, and seizing his gold pieces, he filled his pockets with them, and coming to a traveling companion, he expressed his satisfaction that he had secured his money. His friend remonstrated against his folly in so doing, and said, 'If you are cast away, you will sink to the bottom like a stone!' Volney saw his mistake, and emptied his pockets. But then he was in greater distress than ever. In his agony he threw himself down on the deck, making his final appeal to the Hearer of prayer, which he had probably before never attempted. 'Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! que ce que je prai, que ce que je prai.' The wind, however, changed and bore the vessel from the shoals, and the danger vanished."

As Volney was in this country from 1795 to 1798, and most likely visited the settlement of his countrymen at Detroit, it seems not at all improbable that eighteen to twenty years before, when this schooner was new, he might have been a passenger upon it.

On the 16th of August, 1817, James Monroe, then in the first year of his administration as President of the United States, on a tour of inspection of the fortifications on the northern frontier, arrived in Detroit. A telegraphic message, which for speed was doubtless sent on horseback, had previously announced to the citizens that the presidential party had reached the mouth of the river, eighteen miles below. The people were occupied for about a week in the festivities connected with this extraordinary visit, in all of which Judge Woodward, the author of the act for the establishment of a university; Mr. Monteith, its first president, and, of course, Governor Cass, were prominent; and as the whole population of the town could not then have formed so numerous a company as would gather now at the depot of almost any town on the Central Railroad, to obtain a sight of so distinguished a personage, and as such an occurrence could scarcely be expected again for a lifetime, it may well be supposed that the body of the people was stirred by this event.

Governor Cass and General Macomb accompanied the President to Washington, traveling through the woods of Eastern Michigan and across Ohio. As the act above quoted was passed just after this party left, the reason will be apparent why the signature of Governor Cass is wanting to it. Six days before the publication of this act—that is, on the 20th of August—Judge Woodward invited Mr. Monteith to an interview on the subject of a university, and early in the next month the diary of the latter contains the following entries:

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"*September 9th.* A bill has just passed the territorial legislature establishing a university. In order to carry out its provisions, commissions have been made out for its officers. That for the office of president, and six others, embracing so many separate professorships, have been offered to John Monteith, and six commissions, embracing so many other professorships, are offered to Gabriel Richard, the Catholic bishop of Michigan. The commissions have been accepted, and the institution is ready to go into operation."

"*11th.*—James McCloskey is this day appointed superintendent of the buildings of the university."

"This corporation," adds Mr. M., in the manuscript referred to above, "proceeded to secure a site for a school in this city. They drew the plat of a building, let it out by contract, and in the course of about a year had the lower story occupied with a systematic English school, and a portion of the second story with a classical school, and another with a library."

The statutes enacted for the carrying out of this plan began immediately to be published in the Gazette.

When the catholepistemiad was founded, the great Napoleon was only in the second year of his exile. His marvelous career was still fresh in the minds of admiring Americans, whose warm and wondering regard for the great man was much enhanced by certain recollections of our own war with Great Britain, then just closed. It is suggestive to observe in the columns of the Gazette of this period, the deep interest with which items of information relating to the Bonapartes, and especially the exile of St. Helena, are given. Governor Cass and Judge Woodward, as public and learned men, and contemporary with that exciting revolutionary movement at the head of which Napoleon had placed himself, and doubtless in deepest sympathy with it, must have understood the system organized under the name of the University of France, and certainly this act looks very much like an attempt to copy it in Michigan. It makes the university include in itself all

the primary and higher schools, and gives all legislative and executive control over them into the hands of its president and professors. It is true that this act declares itself to have been "made, adopted, and published from the laws of seven of the original States, so far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan at Detroit;" but this statement is introduced only in order formally to meet a requirement of the act from which the territorial government derived its authority to legislate, and probably this main feature of the system existed in no one of the seven States mentioned.

Higher education must, in the end, direct and control the lower, and it ought to do so; for while the latter employs itself mainly with simple facts in detail, the former teaches the principles or theories into which accumulated facts have been generalized, and those books and systems of teaching, which should be used in the common schools, can be well prepared only by those who have mastered the highest generalizations. But whether the lower schools should be thus formally subjected to the control of the faculty of the highest grade of schools, or whether free competition should be left to work out its legitimate result, is more doubtful. It is perhaps better that neither the university nor its graduates should have any other advantage than that which well-trained talents naturally give them in a free competition for positions as teachers, and this must, in the end, diffuse throughout the lower schools the principles taught and the spirit generated in the university, unless, indeed, the latter fails to realize the only purpose worthy of it.

The professors of the catholepistemiad began, in accordance with this provision, by taking the whole work of lower education into their hands. A few specimens of their legislation may not be devoid of interest. *Statute third* made provision that the pupils in the primary schools should be instructed in reading, writing, English grammar, and elocution. The *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth statutes* enacted the establishment of primary schools in Detroit,

Mackinaw, and Monroe; while the *twelfth* provided, that as soon as practicable, the following books should be used in these schools, viz: Murray's Grammar and Spelling-book, together with his English Reader and Exercises, Walker's Elocution, and Walker's Dictionary.

It is evident that as early as September, 1817, the new university had three primary schools under its direction, whether it found them existing or called them into being, and had selected books for them which were not then in use, and most probably were never all of them introduced, but merely named as the goal to which this aspiring institution was striving to attain. Although it is not beyond doubt, we may reasonably suppose that these were the only primary schools then in the Territory; and if so, we might guess with tolerable accuracy its educational statistics.

Statute fifth provided a course of instruction for the pupils in the classical academies: The French, Latin, and Greek languages, antiquities, English grammar, composition, elocution, mathematics, geography, morals, and ornamental accomplishments; and further enacted that the Sacred Scriptures should constitute a portion of the reading, from the beginning to the end of the course. The two next following *statutes* provided for the establishment of a classical academy in Detroit, and named the trustees and visitors of the same; and *statute fifteenth*, published in the Gazette of October 24, 1817, enacted the establishment of a college in the city of Detroit, to be denominated the "*First College of Michigania.*"

As the university in this its first form did not last long, nor achieve much, it will not be necessary to pursue its course in detail. The governor had the appointment of the president and professors, and doubtless before leaving with the presidential party, had concurred in the appointments as carried out soon after by Judge Woodward. As the salary of a professor was $12.50 a year, and one of these men had seven and the other six professorships; one of course received $87.50, and the other $75 a year.

They had, however, other professions, and little to do in the work for which these salaries were provided, and as they probably received in addition tuition fees when they did any teaching, they were doubtless well enough paid, and both enjoyed that high regard so generally accorded to worthy clergymen and teachers in frontier settlements. It should not be overlooked that, while one was a Presbyterian and the other a Catholic clergyman, they seem to have agreed in providing that the Scriptures should be read throughout all the schools under their charge from the lowest to the highest.

The law in which this institution originated, provided for fifteen per cent. increase of the taxes for the support of the enterprise, and also allowed of the drawing of two lotteries in its aid. But the interest of the people is best shown by a private subscription, raised in the very beginning to the sum of $3,000. The amount obtained by the sale of the land grant, made in the treaty of Fort Meigs in 1817, was more than $5,000, all of which is supposed to have been expended in the educational work in Detroit, in addition to what was raised from tuition and subscriptions. How much the subscriptions were increased afterward is not so evident from the published references to the subject. One of the most interesting ways for an old resident of Michigan to spend half an hour, is in reading over the names of the subscribers to this fund and the amounts of their several subscriptions, as published in the Gazette of that day.

Statutes 13 and 14 recite equally interesting facts, viz: That certain sums of money had been sent on from Montreal and Mackinaw, in 1805, for the relief of the sufferers by the fire of that year; that these had not been paid over because the holders could not obtain satisfactory security to relieve them of their responsibility, and that the sufferers themselves expressed the wish that this money should be given to the university; and they then provide that the university shall receive this money and become security for

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satisfying the claims of the donors, should any ever be preferred.

On the 30th of April, 1821, the governor and judges passed "an act for the establishment, in the city of Detroit, of an institution to be called the University of Michigan." This act repealed that in regard to the catholepistemiad, and gave all the schools which the latter had established, and the funds which it had acquired, into the hands of the new organization. This charter continued to the corporation substantially the powers conferred by the act of 1817, except the provisions for taxes and lotteries. The board might establish such colleges, academies, and schools, depending upon said university, as they should deem proper, and the funds should permit. They were to have the charge of the township of land granted by the Congressional act of March 26, 1804, making provision for the disposal of the public lands in the Indiana Territory; also of the three sections reserved in the treaty of Fort Meigs, concluded September 29, 1817. This act was in the ordinary language of such charters instead of the pedantic terms of the charter of the catholepistemiad. It bore the signatures of Lewis Cass as governor, John Griffin as one of the judges, and James Witherell as secretary of the Territory of Michigan.

During the closing days of the first organization and the opening ones of the second, events of deepest interest were transpiring in our country, in regard to one of which —the Missouri Compromise—the views entertained in our new Territory are not unworthy of record here, since they are not foreign to the history of higher education. The Detroit Gazette of February 25, 1820, holds the following editorial language: "If, in expressing our wishes on this great question, we could suffer our feelings as citizens of Michigan to be warped by a desire to hasten the prospective welfare of this Territory, we should say, let Missouri enjoy her slavery! Let her citizens eat the bread of idleness, while their corn-fields are moistened by the sweat of the

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black man's brow! For we well know that to a country where slavery is tolerated the hardy yeoman of the Eastern and Northern States will never emigrate. . . . Let, then, the right (what a right!) of holding slaves be extended to the people of Missouri, and from the date of that charter, never will an emigrant from the non-slaveholding States press the soil of that country with his foot." Still in the beginning of 1821, Mr. Sibley, the delegate of Michigan in Congress, having some reference to the desired action for education in the Territory, wrote: "The Missouri question has excited so much interest, that nothing else can be done." When the elements of the Northwest were in process of collecting, the people of Missouri, looking forward to wealth and greatness, chose to plant in their fertile soil the institution of slavery, while the people of Michigan, for the purpose of fostering intelligence and virtue, were intent upon planting in their Territory institutions of learning. The one, anxiously and unwisely seeking wealth from the richness of its soil, obtained even this result but very inadequately; the other, seeking the ends of mental and moral elevation, gained these, together with physical thrift. The one which ought to have been twenty years ahead in development, is full twenty years behind—a difference which is, however, rapidly disappearing, and destined not distantly to pass away, under the regenerating influences which now prevail in Missouri.

The new corporation carried on from 1821 to 1837 the work of education begun by its predecessors, including the classical academy, and in the early part of the time a Lancasterian school. By these successive boards the educational spirit was kept up, and transmitted to the university as now organized. The three organizations have been one institution in three stages of development. This has even been judicially declared. In an action of ejectment brought by the regents, to recover certain lands which had been deeded by the governor and judges in 1825 to the trustees of the University of Michigan, the Supreme Court, at its

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January term in 1856, decided that the plaintiffs were entitled to receive and hold the lands. The three are, therefore, in law, as they certainly were in spirit, one and the same institution. The earliest management of the fund, which has made the third stage of development possible, will form the subject of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER VI.

Grant of the Present University Fund and its Administration by the Board of Trustees.

In the chapter on land grants for college education, two were referred to as having been made for Michigan; one by Congress, in 1804, consisting of an entire township; the other, a reservation in the treaty made with the Indian tribes at Fort Meigs, in 1817, of three sections. Both of these grants, for the location of neither of which any measures had as yet been taken, together with all the funds and schools which had belonged to the "catholepistemiad," became, by the charter of 1821, the property of the institution. The government at Washington recognized this board as the responsible administrator of the grants provided for by that charter; at least the board instituted at once the necessary measures for locating these lands. At its second meeting, which occurred June 20, 1821, on motion of Hon. Austin E. Wing, the following action was taken:

"*Resolved*, That his excellency, Lewis Cass, and Mr. Sibley, be a committee, whose duty it shall be to communicate with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on the subject of the location of the college townships in this Territory, and that he be urged to hasten the location of the same."*

Mr. Wing did not include the Fort Meigs reservation in this resolution, and the reason is incidentally brought out in a letter of Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury,

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* It is a remarkable and very interesting fact that the three men—Messrs. Cass, A. E. Wing, and Woodbridge—who had most to do with the procuring of the grants for Michigan, were from the New England colony in Ohio, of which an account has been given above.

APPENDIX THREE: A PORTION OF A FOOTNOTE IN PRESIDENT DAVIS'S 1833 PAMPHLET

"A Narrative of the Embarrassments and Decline of Hamilton College"

It was these *same* members of the class, without question, who were concerned in the *conversations*, who prayed for the President (one or more of them) in the manner before stated, and who circulated the unfavorable reports of him after they were graduated. In the former revivals in this College during my presidency, and in the revivals at Middlebury during my presidency there, no such prayers were made. Nor has such language as was used by professor Monteith publicly in the chapel, on the Sabbath, been used by any other professor, viz.--*'Thou knowest, O Lord, that the faculty of Hamilton College have sinned in high places; and we pray thee, O Lord, if they are obstacles to thy work, that thou wouldst remove them out of thy way.'* When asked by me--'Do you verily believe the Holy Ghost constrained you to pray and preach in such a manner?' he replied instantly--'I do.' Language the same in import was frequently used by him in prayer; and his preaching, for a time, was of a similar character. Nowhere else have I witnessed the appearance of such a spirit, or had such an opposition to encounter from any of my brethren, as has been manifested by some of them *here* both in the Board of Trustees and out of it.

With regard to the *new measures*, as they have been called, which have been introduced into many of our churches, I had, from the beginning, with a great majority of my brethren thorughout this country, fearful apprehensions for their consequences. Embracing the views of President Edwards, on the subject of revivals, as according substantially with the Scriptures, we could not conscientiously co-operate in the use of the *new measures* with our brethren who approved them. But by the advocates of these measures even the silence of some of us was regarded as opposition, and as sure evidence of our being enemies to all revivals. The present distracted state of many

of our churches furnishes proof painful and irresistible, that our apprehensions were not groundless.

Repeatedly has it been said, (and by some of the *new school* too) that the opposition to me from some of my brethren in the Board, and the fall of Hamilton College, are owing to the fact, 'that the College was not regarded as favorable to the *Oneida revival.*' I have anxiously sought for a cause of their opposition to me less wounding to my feelings, but, with the exception of a single individual, . . . I have sought it in vain.

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APPENDIX FOUR: THE BEGINNINGS OF HAMILTON COLLEGE

Long ago I learned that even to approach an adequate understanding of a situation one must explore its historical and environmental contexts. In this appendix I review what seem to me to be the significant facts on both these counts bearing upon John Monteith's tenure at Hamilton College. What follows is far from complete since I have been able to learn nothing at all about seven or eight of its 63 trustees during the 1812-32 period, and I have quite inadequate information about nearly a half of the total, and insufficient data about the remainder.

Only a small part of what follows, it needs to be remarked, comes from the published histories of the College (Ibbotson, Pilkington). Most of it I've found in my own notes and reference books and in the 10 or a dozen books borrowed from the Stanford University Library.

Founding of the College and Its Antecedent Academy

A Princetonian writing in 1900 observed that "Dartmouth and Hamilton were born in the same wigwam."[1] Samuel Kirkland, however, the founder of Hamilton, graduated from Princeton in 1765. He had been sent there by Eleazar Wheelock (Yale 1733), the founder in 1769 of Dartmouth. I wondered for many years

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[1] Sherwood, p. 231.

about why a Yale man should have sent his protégé -- and also his eldest son Ralph[1] -- to Princeton rather than to his alma mater. Only recently have I learned the answer, to wit, that when Kirkland and young Wheelock were ready for college, the Connecticut legislature had just begun a vigorous, 30-year attack on the government of Yale. Its president, Thomas Clap, won the first round in the spring of 1763 which accounts for Ralph Wheelock transfering from Princeton to Yale where he graduated in the Class of 1765. Clap's opponents, however, countered with a definitive victory in 1766 which probably had something to do with Clap's unexpected demise three months later. Meanwhile, as Eleazar Wheelock's missionary agent, Kirkland had left for Central New York and hence received his Princeton baccalaureate in absentia. Thus Kirkland could be described as a displaced Yale man who probably would have matriculated at Dartmouth had it then been in existence.

Kirkland's missionary activities began in the fall of 1764 and concentrated on the Oneida Indians, one of the famed Six Nations. He so thoroughly gained their affection and confidence that as a Presbyterian minister he not only baptized many of them but also succeeded in winning the tribe over to the American cause during the Revolution. In acknowledgement of this vital achievement the State of New York granted him 4,000 acres a few miles east and south of Utica wherein lies

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[1]Thorp, pp. 24-50.

the village of Clinton, founded in 1787. Soon thereafter Kirkland assigned 300 acres there to the Hamilton-Oneida Academy which culminated his missionary efforts. The New York State Board of Regents chartered the Academy in 1793 to serve both white as well as Indian youths of both sexes. Alexander Hamilton, one of the organizers of the Regents, agreed to be one of its 16 trustees. He attended none of its meetings; but when the Academy acquired a college charter in 1812, it named the College in his honor.

Hamilton's Trustees, 1812-1832

Kirkland died in 1807, and hence his name does not appear among the original 24 trustees of the College. In the light of subsequent events acting directly or indirectly upon Monteith, I outline what I have been able to learn about the characteristics of the original group and of their 43 successors during the next two decades.

Formal Education: Nine of the first trustees were college graduates -- six of Yale, and one each of Dartmouth, Princeton, and Union. By 1832 the number of Yale alumni had grown to 18, and those from the six other colleges represented on the Board during its first 20 years totaled 10: Dartmouth two, Hamilton two, Middlebury one, Princeton two, Union two, and Williams one. Thus at no time during its early history did a majority of trustees hold college degrees.

Locale: Almost all of the members of the Board lived in Oneida County, but at least ~~three~~ four represented other counties: Chenango, the home of U.S. Senator Obadia German who served on the Board, however, only one year; Cortland, where at Homer the Rev. John Keep was Presbyterian minister from 1821-1833; Madison, the residence of Peter Smith who served briefly but who fathered one of the most important of Hamilton alumni and later trustees, namely, the fabulous Gerrit Smith; and from Otsego came U.S. Congressman A. Metcalf about whom I've been able to discover nothing. He resigned after attending one meeting of the Board.

Three of the 1812 members lived in or very near Clinton, as did four in 1827. All served on the strategic five-member Prudential Committee which handled Board business between the semi-annual meetings of the full body. It needs to be emphasized, however, that during the Monteith emergencies referred to in earlier pages, the Board met frequently.

Occupations: Only four of the original 24 trustees were ministers -- three Presbyterians and one Congregationalist. The former included James Carnahan (Princeton 1800) of the United Church of Whitesboro who resigned almost immediately and later became president of Princeton (1823-59). The Congregationalist, Asahel Strong Norton (Yale 1790), had been pastor of the Clinton church since its organization in 1793. It did not change over to Presbyterian polity until 1870.

During President Davis' administration (1817-32) the number of ministers on the Board beside himself grew to 14. Two were Episcopalians, two probably Dutch Reformed, the remainder apparently Presbyterians, most of them ardent Finneyites.[1]

The majority of Board members at all times during the Davis period were lawyers and/or businessmen living in Utica, the metropolis of the county after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1819. A large number of them held public office: one went to Washington as a Congressman, several to Albany as senators or assemblymen, a half dozen or more held judgeships of various kinds; two were district attorneys, one a sheriff, two mayors of Utica after its chartering as a city just before Davis' resignation. Several doubled or tripled in brass as editors, bankers, merchants, and miscellaneous entrepreneurs. Two owned large tracts of land: Peter Smith, perhaps as much as a million acres, and General William Floyd whose father of the same name had signed the Declaration of Independence. One of the trustees, Sewall Hopkins, was a physician.

Politics: The majority of the Board were Federalists or Whigs; but at least three or four were Democrats. About this infinitely complex topic I know much less than I'd like. Enough for present purposes to observe that the 1812-32 period began with "Mr. Madison's War" and extended into the era of tumultuous problems which, among much else, led to the Civil War.

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[1] See Cumshaw No. 6.

Religion: Hamilton has never been allied with any religious denomination, but a substantial majority of its trustees through the nineteenth century were undoubtedly Presbyterians. From the beginning, however, other denominations had representation on the Board. During the 1812-32 period it included, for example, at least four Episcopalians, one Roman Catholic (James Lynch, 1812-25), and in all likelihood one or two Unitarians.

Monteith created the stir that he did at Hamilton on the complex religious issue cited in the body of this paper. Suffice it here to say that the Presbyterian clergy on the Board largely supported him, but so did an undeterminate number of its lay members.

Hamilton's First Two Presidents

The Board of Regents issued Hamilton's charter on May 26, 1812, and on July 14 the Board of Trustees held its initial meeting, naturally concentrating on the selection of a president. It chose the Rev. Caleb Alexander, a Yale alumnus of the Class of 1777 who had been primarily responsible for raising the $50,000 required by the Regents to supplement the State's promised endowment of the same amount.

Alexander was a convinced Hopkinsian, but for some reason he declined the position. When the Board next convened, it elected Samuel Miller, Presbyterian minister of New York City who also declined, probably in anticipation of his selection

the next year as the second professor of PTS. The Board on August 25 then turned to a distinguished New York City lawyer and legal scholar, William Johnson (Yale 1788), a devoted Episcopalian. He too, declined, and so on September 28 the Board elected the Rev. Azel Backus (Yale 1787), another Hopkinsian. He accepted, arriving in Clinton on November 23, a month after the College opened.

I've reviewed these proffers of the presidency in order to call attention to two facts: first, the Board's religious diversity in 1812, and second, the persuasive powers of its two Episcopalian members -- Nathan Williams of Trinity Church, Utica, and Jededia Sanger of St. Joseph's Church, New Hartford. The influence of Carnahan, though he attended only one meeting of the Board before his resignation, seems also to have been significant since almost certainly he raised the question as to whether or not the College should have both a president and a provost as at that time did Columbia.[1] The Board decided that it needed only a president.

Backus served for only four years and three months and died at the early age of 51 of a fever contracted while watching over a sick faculty member. During his pastorate in Bethlehem, Connecticut, as did many of his contemporaries, he conducted a small preparatory school. With the adolescent students there he seems to have been quite popular, but at Hamilton he

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[1]See Cumshaw No. 1.

immediately encountered disciplinary problems. Had he not died when he did, he might well have experienced the same kind of difficulties that greeted his successor upon his arrival in the fall of 1817.[1]

Backus' death again had the Board in a dither about choosing a president. Pilkington tells the story capably, but he does not include a fact which in my judgment has tremendous significance. Henry Davis (Yale 1796) had been elected in January before finally accepting the position in July. In the interim the Board elected President Francis Brown of Dartmouth, who declined because of being in the midst of the famous Dartmouth College case. Then the Board turned to Gardiner Spring (Yale 1805) -- and this is the fact that I would emphasize -- Spring was a pronounced Hopkinsian who later, however, stubbornly opposed the Finneyites. These circumstances, together with the fact that he held the pastorate of the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City for 63 years, stimulates one's impossible-to-satisfy curiosity about what Hamilton's history might have been had Spring rather than Davis become the College's second president.

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I must again accent the facts that I have been able to find no information at all about seven or eight early trustees,

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[1]Davis, pp. 1-2.

only driblets about nearly half of them, and ample data about none. Had I devoted more than the month that I have been able to give to researching and writing this paper and had I not been housebound, I could surely have hunted down much data now lacking. Yet it seems to me fair to suggest that in this appendix and the Cumshaws that follow will be found a reasonably comprehensive sketch of the several paramount components of Hamilton's early history bearing upon the life of John Monteith.

APPENDIX FIVE: CUMSHAWS

Number One: John Mitchell Mason, perhaps at the time the the most pre-eminent member of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, did not change to mainline Presbyterianism until 1822. The important fact about him here is that while serving as pastor of the Murray Street Church (1811-16) he also administered Columbia College with the title of provost. The president, the Rev. Dr. William Harris (Harvard 1786), Rector of St. Mark's-on-the-Bowery, seldom came to the campus until after Mason's resignation when he gave full time to Columbia. But during the five previous years he was its titular head only. This arrangement followed from the fact that in giving land for Columbia's first site, Trinity Church had required that its president be an Episcopalian. The stipulation continued in force until 1948 when Dwight D. Eisenhower succeeded Nicholas Murray Butler in the presidency.

Butler, incidentally, had been raised a Presbyterian, but as a young man he switched over to the Episcopal Church. This could well have been prescience, but "Nicholas Miraculous's" numerous enemies probably considered it undiluted guile. About the same time William Rainey Harper, later to be the great president of the University of Chicago, also left the Presbyterian Church and became a Baptist. Harper had many fewer enemies than Butler, but in any case his denominational change later made it possible for him to attract many millions to the University of Chicago from John D. Rockefeller.

Number Two: The Hamilton Board of Trustees elected Henry Davis to the presidency on January 21, 1817, but at some point before the middle of March he declined the position. The Board then offered it successively to two other men who also declined. Finally after having been re-elected Davis came to Clinton to have a look at the College. When he again declined the Board insisted upon an explanation. Davis thereupon accepted the position -- albeit apparently with reluctance -- and took over the office late in October.

Why all of this shilly-shallying? In his 1833 pamphlet Davis first explained that he had expected Middlebury and the University of Vermont to merge and that, when they didn't, he decided to remain at Middlebury. He might also, however, have thought again affirmatively about the presidency of Yale which Jeremiah Day of the class ahead of him did not accept earlier than April 11. Yet it seems to me that attention must be given to a possible third reason for his delays in deciding to accept the Hamilton presidency. Namely, the prevailing religious confusion in New England and Central New York.

Like Presidents Dwight and Backus, Davis was what President Ezra Stiles of Yale had earlier called a "New Divinity" man. Stiles used this term to designate the numerous followers of the revised Calvinistic theology first propounded by the great Jonathan Edwards (Yale 1720). Among these several became pre-eminent: Joseph Bellamy (Yale 1735), Azel Backus' predecessor in the Bethlehem, Connecticut, pastorate; Samuel

Hopkins (Yale 1741); Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (Princeton 1765), classmate of Hamilton's founder and second president of Union College; Nathaniel Emmons (Yale 1767) who differed from his fellow Edwardian leaders (as with the senior Edwards himself) in being totally committed to Congregational polity); and Timothy Dwight (Yale 1769) who succeeded Stiles in 1795 as Yale's president. These men each interpreted their mentor differently; but because Hopkins' theological systematics became predominant, Edwards' disciples into the early part of the nineteen century typically came to be called Hopkinsians.

As observed, the Hopkinsians differed among themselves about doctrine and polity; but they were united in their opposition, on the one hand, to those who believed that the Westminster Confession should be followed to the letter and, on the other hand, to the miscellaneous liberals who in word and deed softened the rigors of strict Calvinism. In seeking to comprehend these convoluted issues I've always had to quit because trying to sort out their crisscrossed variables has made me dizzy. Happily, however, they need not be dealt with here; but one element of the hodge-podge is supremely relevant to President Davis' troubles at Hamilton and hence must be briefly canvassed, namely, religious revivals.

The history-shaping revival known as the Great Awakening began in East Jersey during the 1720s and in New England about a decade later. Then over the next quarter of a century the princeps maximus of the Awakening, George Whitefield, carried

it up the coast from Georgia to Maine. By the time he died in 1770 on his seventh evangelical visit from England, that phenomenal chapter of American revivalism had ended; and although local quickenings occurred here and there, religious thunder clouds did not begin to build up again among the Calvinist denominations until 1802. During that year President Timothy Dwight initiated at Yale what came to be called, after it spread from New Haven, the Second Awakening.

Revivals have been so prominent and influential in the early history of so many American colleges that for many years I've been reading in the abundant literature about them. This has impelled me to venture to categorize revivalist methods as either predominantly coercive or suasive. Jonathan Edwards, for example, employed the former, coercing his congregations with vividly horrendous descriptions of hell and its eternal torments. In contrast, his grandson Timothy Dwight used come-let-us-reason-together, that is, suasive methods.

It may well be that the above classification will be found wanting by religious taxonomists and, further, that Davis' off-again/on-again attitudes concerning Hamilton's presidency had little if anything to do with revivalism. The facts are, nonetheless, first, that Davis followed the suasive philosophy in the revivals he conducted at Middlebury, and second, that his troubles with Monteith focused on revivalist methodology.

Number Three: During the nineteenth century, college presidents changed institutions much more frequently than later.

Junkin, for example, held four -- Lafayette (1832-41), Miami (1841-44), Lafayette again (1844-48), and Washington College, now Washington and Lee University (1848-61).

Number Four: Hopkinsianism spread through all the Calvinist churches and for several decades dominated Presbyterianism in the middle states. Thus some of the graduates of Princeton went north to become pastors of influential Congregational churches, a situation enhanced by efforts at coordinating Presbyterians and Congregationalists, begun as early as 1766 and formalized in the Plan of Union adopted in 1801. For example, at least three of Samuel Kirkland's Hopkinsian classmates became pastors of New England churches: John Bacon of Old North in Boston made famous by Increase and Cotton Mather and later by Paul Revere; Jonathan Edwards, Jr., of the White Church in New Haven and later the second president of Union College and instigator of the Plan of Union by means of which he hoped to stifle Congregationalism west of the Hudson;[1] and Theodore Romeyn, of the Dutch Reformed Church in Schenectady.

During the administration of Timothy Dwight at Yale (1795-1817) New England Hopkinsianism gave way to a revision of it made by Professor Nathaniel W. Taylor (Yale 1807) and soon thereafter in New England it became known both as Taylorism and the New Haven Theology. For a period it had a considerable

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[1]Hislop, p. 44.

vogue among Presbyterians who became known as New School men in opposition to anti-Taylorites labeled Old School. In New York State the Plan of Union had facilitated the spread of Presbyterian polity rather than of Congregationalism, and among New Yorkers, especially Finneyites, New School theology predominated.

Upon his graduation from Hamilton in 1820 Albert Barnes attended PTS for several years where, despite the points of view of Professors Alexander and Miller, he became a Taylorite. That is, he endorsed the position of the New Haven School on theological topics but, like Taylor and his supporters, he opposed Finney's revivalist ideas and practices.

Soon after leaving PTS the important First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia installed Barnes as its pastor, and that greatly alarmed the still extant Hopkinsians there and throughout the Presbyterian sphere of influence. One Old School stalwart attempted to prevent his installation; and when that effort to unseat him failed, President George Junkin of Lafayette College -- Monteith's classmate and former associate at the Germantown Manual Labor Academy -- charged Barnes in 1835 with heresy. The General Assembly, however, upheld Barnes; and that precipitated the 1837 split between Old School and New School Presbyterians which continued bitterly until after the Civil War.

It will be recalled from the body of this paper that the 1837 breach consisted in the excision from the General Assembly

of four synods, three in New York (Genesee, Geneva, and Utica) and Western Reserve in northern Ohio and southern Michigan. The break ostensibly related primarily to doctrinal issues, but Finney's new measure revivalism had long been commingled with them. Yet many Presbyterians could maintain at the time of the split -- as did Monteith -- that although they endorsed Finneyite revivals they belonged doctrinally to the Old School.[1]

Number Five: A thumbnail sketch of Weld seems essential. "Measured by his influence" writes one of his biographers, he was "the greatest of the abolitionists . . . (and) also one of the greatest figures of his time."[2]

Weld, son of the Rev. Ludovicus Weld (Harvard 1789) and brother of evangelist Charles Weld (Yale 1822), had been Monteith's student at Hamilton. For reasons hard to understand Hamilton historians do not mention him, but one of his collateral descendants whom I've known for more than three decades wrote me several years ago that Weld had been "kicked out for starting a religious revival that offended" President Davis. I've written her requesting more information about the time of Weld's dismissal, and pending its arrival it can be reported that Weld joined Finney's "Hold Band" in 1825, became

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[1] Elyria Democrat.

[2] Barnes.

a student at the Oneida Institute in 1827, and about 1830 began his powerful career as an anti-slavery propagandist.[1]

Barely 27 years old, Weld started west in January 1831 primarily to foster Finney revivalism, the anti-slavery crusade, and temperance; and thus his agreement to be the field agent of the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions gave him a fourth cause. Endowed with phenomenal energy, however, he did not neglect his new commission and accounted for a significant number of the institutions in the middle-western states which adopted the work-study plan. The fight against slavery, however, had developed into the epicenter of his dynamic dedication to reform; and, deflected while in Northern Ohio from the anti-slavery cause to immediatism (abolitionism), in 1833 he resigned his manual labor agency.

Weld's achievements included almost closing down the Lane Theological Seminary where in 1833 he had begun a short-lived plan to become a Presbyterian minister. Having become an abolitionist, he arranged a series of debates on the slavery issue, but they stirred up so much town-gown friction that the trustees forbade their continuance. Harriet Beecher, a 22-year old daughter of Lane's recently-arrived president, Lyman Beecher, attended some if not all of the 18 debates; and, convinced by Weld's eloquence, she joined the abolitionist cause.

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[1]Barnes.

Two decades later, having long been the wife of Bowdoin's Professor Calvin Stowe, she wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin which enraged the South and won uncountable opponents to slavery in the North and Europe. President Lincoln, so goes a famous anecdote, greeted her when she visited him at the White House, "So you're the little woman who started this awful war."

As a consequence of the Weld-sponsored debates at Lane approximately 100 students resigned; and 30 of them, headed by Weld, moved 250 miles northeast to the Oberlin Manual Labor Institute. Within a few months one of the members of Lane's Board of Trustees, Cincinnati Presbyterian minister Asa Mahan, joined the Oberlin students. He had graduated from Hamilton in 1824 and -- considering his later career -- could well have been the student who had prayed for President Davis as "a gray-haired old sinner." In any case, he supported his fellow Hamiltonian Weld and the other "Lane Rebels"; and he agreed to leave Cincinnati for the presidency of Oberlin on condition that it admit not only women students but also in the language of the times "students of color." Thus Oberlin College (the name adopted in 1851) opened as "the first college in the world to admit young women on equal terms with young men and received colored students 28 years before emancipation."[1]

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[1]Mahan, Asa.

Number Six: At least two of Hamilton's trustees during the Finneyite disturbances were associated later with Oberlin College: the Rev. John Keep (Yale 1802), who moved in 1833 to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, became the president of the Oberlin Board of Trustees (1834-36), and acted as its financial agent for several years thereafter; and the Rev. James Eells (Yale 1799) who resigned from the Westmoreland Presbyterian Church, close to Clinton, in 1825 and later moved to Elyria, Ohio, where he chiefly devoted his energies to raising money for Finneyite churches.

Oberlin also attracted a number of Hamilton alumni, one of whom, Asa Mahan (Hamilton 1824) as observed in the previous Cumshaw, became its first president. In addition to being a Finneyite par excellence, Mahan, as reported in Cumshaw No. 5, pioneered for the nation and the world the visionary and currently scandalizing practices of admitting to full status both students "of color" and young women. Understandably, conservative Hamilton never conferred upon him an honorary degree. Less understandably, he is not even mentioned in any published Hamilton history.

Number Seven: I've been unable to learn whether or not Gerrit Smith (Hamilton 1818) attended the 1840 Boston convention of the "Friends of Universal Reform." If he didn't, he must surely have been there in spirit because no contemporary of whom I know espoused more uplift efforts than he. One of his biographers has described them as follows:

> He labored in the cause of the Sunday School and of Sunday observance; he was an anti-Mason; he advocated vegetarianism; and he opposed the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages; he joined the national dress reform association and the woman's suffrage cause; he believed in prison reform, and in the abolition of capital punishment. He contributed to home and foreign missions and to the causes of the oppressed Greeks, the Italians, and the Irish. Through his influence his cousin, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was interested in temperance and abolition movements. He was vice-president of the American Peace Society and advocated compensated emancipation of slaves. He joined the anti-slavery crusade in 1835 with his customary enthusiasm, and he became one of the best-known abolitionists in the United States.[1]

During what has been called the American "Millenial Age," Emerson remarked that every "reading man" carried around a social reform scheme in his vest pocket; but Gerrit Smith had them in all his pockets -- usually two or three.

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[1]Harlow.

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